1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

142 The skin colour in adult Choroti is brown, newly born children have light yellowish-brown skin, but it soon gets darker, so that even rather young children, figs. 21 and 22, seem to be of a very dark colour. The hair is lank, and the iris dark brown. From Lehmann-Nitsche's and my own anthropological observations I have compiled the following table.

The Choroti: some physical features.

[141]

Sex	Average height, cm	Shape of skull	Skin colour, von Luschan's scale	Hair colour, Fischer's scale	Iris, Martin's scale
Men	[1] 161.6 [2] 170.0	Dolichocephalic, predominantly	22, predominantly	4, predominantly	4, predominantly
Women ...	[3] 153.3 [4] 152.0	Dolichocephalic, predominantly	18, predominantly	4, predominantly	4, predominantly

145 [305] As the Choroti do not keep count of the age of their children, nor of their own, it is impossible to obtain, by direct questioning, from these Indians any information as to the relation of puberty to age in individuals. One of our Creole servants, who had lived a long time on the Chaco, has, however, told me that Indian children arrive early at physical [582] development (fig. 24), and that the girls are considered marriageable after their first menstruation, which, according to my informant, occurs at the age of ten to twelve. And, according to the same person's statement, the boys are ripe for marrying at the age of about fifteen. The blossoming-time of the women is very brief, and as they grow old they often become repulsively ugly. It is notable that the old women, as a rule, were thin of body, whilst elderly men often were inclined to stoutness.

[621] 361 The Choroti live together in villages. The selection of the village site depends primarily on the supply of water and food, and, in the case of cattle owning Indians, also on grazing conditions. Often the huts are built alongside shade-giving trees (fig. 25). The fan palm found in the [824] Chaco (Copernicia australis), (fig. 10,) being valuable to the Indians on account of its easily worked wood, its pith (used for food), and its leaves

[1] Acc. to Lehmann-Nitsche's measurements of 30 individuals.
[2] » » the Author's » 10 »
[3] » » Lehmann-Nitsche's » 10 »
[4] » » the Author's » 13 »

[text continues on p. 37]

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

(material for roofing huts), the Indians are apt to build their villages in the proximity of some grove, or forest, of palms (»palmar»). As a case in instance, the Choroti village at Tatarenda was situated quite close to a palm grove, and not very far from a largish palm forest. It is of importance that algaroba trees should be growing in the neighbourhood, as the fruit of this tree plays a prominent part in the food arrangements of these Indians.

The huts are of a very primitive character, and are built in the following manner; With a digging-stick (fig. 27) of hard, heavy wood, a succession of holes is dug, or jabbed, in the ground, so as to form a circle with a diameter of 2 metres or upwards. In each of these holes is planted an unlopped, bent-grown branch, thick end downwards, so that the tips of the branch point towards the centre of the circle. By this means a cupola-shaped frame is formed (fig. 26). This frame is covered with a thick layer of palm leaves and grass (figs. 16, 25), unless palm leaves are difficult to obtain, when the hut will be covered with grass only, although huts thatched in this way have less rain resistance. But even the most carefully built Choroti huts are, however, poor enough dwellings which, in any heavy downpour of rain, are unable to keep those inside them from a wetting.

Fig. 18. A man holding a pestle in his hands. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

The huts have one, or even two, entrances, about one metre in height (figs. 16, 25), but huts of the largest size are sometimes provided with several entrances. A sort of porch, constructed of branches and grass, may occasionally be built out from the entrance. When several huts are close together, they may not unfrequently be connected with each other by means of covered passages, or tunnels, built similarly to the huts.

The latter do not contain many utensils. Ranged along the wall, bowls made of gourd shell, a few clay vessels and a wooden mortar, are generally seen. In prettily knitted net bags of spun caraguatá fibre,[1] the Choroti keep all manner of small articles, such as mussel-shell spoons, wooden sticks for fire-drilling, toilet articles, magic rattles, etc.

[1] Caraguatá, or chahuar (chaguar), Bromelia serra, is, as I have already pointed out, especially common in the Chaco.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

Fig. 27. Wooden digging stick (wand of Bulnesia sarmienti). The handle and the spade-like point are flat, the rest, of round section. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/6. Riksm. no. 3 84.

a secondary one.[1] In Central Africa I have seen Wemba and Bisa men construct food-storing racks for smoking food; or drying it by fire. These racks are built on exactly the same plan as the cooking-sheds of the Choroti, although lower than the latter, and not covered with grass. That also the Indians of South America made use of drying or roasting racks, is evident from fig. 29, provided that this picture, reproduced from an account of travel in the 16th century,[2] actually is a faithful representation of an Indian roasting-rack.

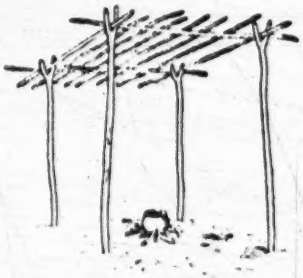

Fig. 28. Frame of cooking shed; also used as a food rack. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. From Erland Nordenskiöld.

The roasting-rack, such as it is reproduced above, may conceivably be a development of the food-storing rack discussed by me in chapter VII (pp. 198, 199), and in the following way: Those usually fairly tall racks that are built for the protection of food against damage from wild or domestic animals, are, as a rule, particularly well adapted for drying fish, etc. When the weather is unfavourable to sun-drying, the idea would present itself of assisting the preserving process by making a fire under the rack, by means of which the food would dry more quickly, at the same time that, through the action of the smoke, it would keep longer from decomposition. By lessening the height of the rack, in the way shown in fig. 29, the effect of the fire would be increased so much that the food would quickly be cooked, and ready for immediate consumption.

When the Choroti quit a dwelling site in order to build their village elsewhere, they often burn their old

[1] Cf. my theory as to the origin of pile-building construction, pp. 193—199.
[2] Schmidel (1), p. 39.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

however, that this object, on account of its weight and shape, would be rather unsuitable for a head ornament. At an attempt at fixing this bunch in a band tied round my forehead, the cluster overbalanced at the very first sharp movement. With some Indians (e. g., the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico) it is the custom at certain dances to hold branches in the hands,[1] and the Mataco, on occasions, dance round two men who are each holding a bunch of sugar cane, resting it on the ground. In this

Fig. 46. Hair-net, with chin strap of red, woollen yarn. The technique in the knitting work resembles what is known as macramé lace. Hair-net as well as chin strap decorated with snail-shell spangles. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 10. 3. 15.

Fig. 47. Hair-net of red woollen yarn. Knitting technique resembling that of macramé. In the chin strap, which consists of grey woollen yarn, small downy feathers are worked in. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 5.

latter case the dance in performed in order to hasten the ripening of the sugar cane.[2] The fan palm being of great importance in the food-getting of the Choroti, it is not inconceivable that the palm-leaf bunch here mentioned has been used at some magic dance, held with a view to obtaining an increased supply of palms. That palms are sacred trees, is a universal idea with the Indians,[3] a fact that enhances the possibility of this cluster having had some magical purpose. It may perhaps appear strange that I did not, without further ado, accept the statement of the

[1] Donaldson (1), plates facing pp. 117 and 119.
[2] Karsten (1), p. 80.
[3] Karsten (4), p. 126.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

who was wearing it, for, according to his statement, this ornament originally belonged to an enemy killed by him (Cf. the »scalp lock» on the Indian in fig. 42).

On the Spaniards' first coming to the Inca kingdom, there was, naturally, in that country much that aroused their great astonishment. Among

Fig. 50. Bamboo casing for keeping ostrich-feather head ornaments. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/6. Riksm. 10. 3. 18.

Fig. 51. Palm leaf object, said to be meant for wearing in a frontlet. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 29.

other things, the strangers found it especially remarkable that Peruvian men of noble birth were wearing immense, often metal-mounted wooden discs, or hanging ornaments, in their pierced ear-lobes, which were distended to a monstrous size. This custom occasioned the Spaniards to give the Peruvian nobles the nickname of »orejones» — which might be

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

CHAPTER III.

The Choroti (3). Modes of subsistence.

Their various industries. Hunting. Bows. Arrows. Game-stalking. Game-driving. Decoying game by imitative calls. Tracking. Snares. War weapons. Clubs. Knuckle-dusters. Bone daggers. Knives made of cane. Mail shirts. Methods of warfare. Incendiary arrows. Ambuscades. Preparing for war. Scalping. Torture. Causes of war. Fishing. Nets. Driving fish. Blocking up fishing-water. Swimming and wading, in fishing. Fish fences. Pile-buildings used in fishing. Mesh-spacers. Fish-hooks and lines. Fish clubs. Transportation of fish. Dangers in fishing. Gathering of wild food plants. Implements used in gathering wild plants. Agriculture. Cultivated plants. Agricultural implements. Cattle-rearing. Domestic animals. Nomadic life. Trading.

The Choroti subsist on hunting, fishing, the gathering of wild, edible plants, and, to some small extent, also on a very primitive form of agriculture, and by trading with their neighbours.[1]

Hunting of game is mainly done with bows and arrows, and snares. The pellet-bow and the sling are met with among the Choroti, but are only used as toys.[2]

The collection of Choroti objects that I presented to the Riksmuseum included 14 bows, only 11 of which are now to be found. They form the material upon which the following description of Choroti bows is founded.

The bow staves consist of some kind of wood which is hard, resilient and usually free from knots. Probably quebracho (Schinopsis lorenzii) and palo mataco (Achatocarpus praecox) are the woods most frequently used as bow stave material. The bows of the Choroti (figs. 90 and 91) are better made than those of the Chiriguano, but are not of such good workmanship as the bows that I have seen among the Toba on the upper Pilcomayo.

[1] The description I am here giving of the Choroti refers, unless otherwise stated, to this tribe's mode of living at the time my observations were made (1901). Since then, many changes have come into the Chaco Indians' mode of living.

[2] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 48.

[p. 85]

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

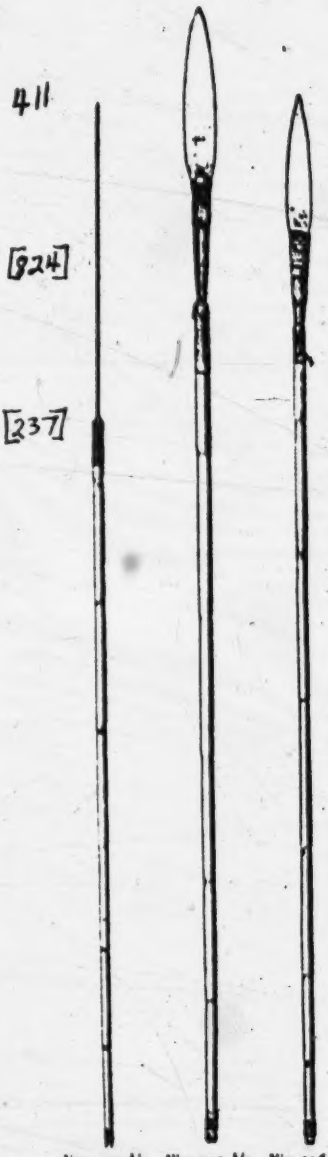

Fig. 104. 1/3. Fig. 105. 1/3. Fig. 106. 1/3.
03. 3. 335. 03. 3. 360. 03. 3. 375.
Arrows tipped with iron, and with reed shafts. Choroti. Grant'haro. Bolivia. Riksm.

specimen, which ought to be in the Riksmuseum collection (numbered 03. 3. 259).[1]

The arrow-shafts consist of a reed, and are generally without feathers. When they do occur, they are fastened on in the way fig. 107 shows.

The wooden arrow-heads, which are usually of quebracho (Schinopsis lorenzii), palo mataco (Achatocarpus praecox), or palo santo (Bulnesia sarmienti), are fitted into the reed shaft, the front end of which is wound with caraguatá fibre in order to prevent its being split open by the arrow-head. This winding is coated with bee's-wax. The rear end of the reed has a notch for the bow string (see fig. 107). The length of the reed is adjusted in such a way that the notch in the butt end can be made immediately behind a joint, which naturally increases the strength of the shaft butt. The rear end of the shaft too is provided with a heavily waxed winding of caraguatá fibre. The thicker end of the reed (the lower end of the growing reed) is always used for fixing the arrow-head, as then the joints slip more easily over the bow-stave than if the head were inserted in the thinner end of the reed.

Such arrows as are pointed with thick iron wire (fig. 104), have the rear end of the point wound with well waxed fibre. The fibre-wound part of the arrow head is pushed so far into the shaft as to make the front edge of the winding come flush with the mouth of the reed shaft. Lanceolate iron heads (figs. 105 and 106) are fitted into a cleft wooden socket, in the manner I have described from the Chiriguano (see p. 208). Over the winding, which

[1] Cf. Nordenskiöld (11), fig. 5 b.

[Not processed, – Analyst]

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

thread is wound on and fastened. Probably this thread,[1] was used for securing the bait so that it should not slip off the barbless hook. The line, which consists of three-ply yarn, is 4.4 m. long.

When a fish has been caught, it is killed with small, round-sectioned clubs of some hard and heavy kind of wood (fig. 120), and then strung on a cord, which, by means of a wooden needle (fig. 121), is threaded through the head of the fish, being passed through its eyes. The fish-festooned cord is carried round the fisherman's waist. This is a safe and handy way of carrying the catch whilst continuing fishing operations, swimming or wading. When a collected catch of fish is to be transported

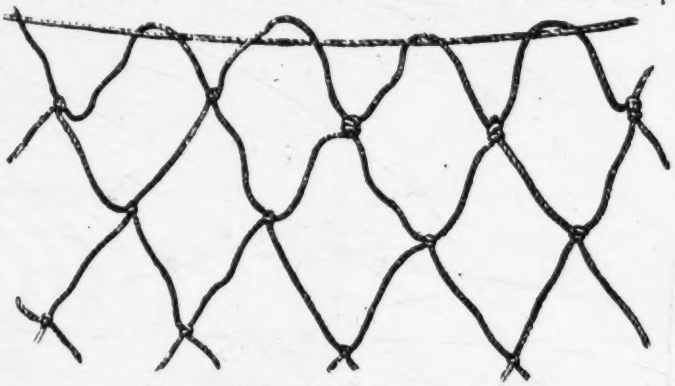

Fig. 117. Enlargement of the net in fig. 116. 2/3.

home to the village, the fish needle and cord also come in very useful. The implement here shown is from the Toba, as the Choroti specimen which I brought home (Riksm. 03. 3. 243) is now lost. The needle in the implement here reproduced probably consists of palo mataco, or quebracho, and has a length of 380 cm and a diameter of 0.5 cm. The cord, however, tapers towards the ends, its extreme points being only a few millimetres in thickness. One end of the cord is bent back so as to form a loop. Through this loop, and through the eye of the needle, a thinner caraguatá string has been passed, several turns, and with this string the loop has been wound, in the way seen in the picture. The specimen here shown is meant for carrying large-sized fish, but these implements are also to be found of much slenderer dimensions.

[1] I have no notes concerning the purpose of this thread.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

136 481 292 I have mentioned that the Choroti do not possess any water-craft, so that when fishing with nets they often have to wade or swim. In doing this, they expose themselves to being attacked by palometa fishes. As a protection for their legs in wading, the Indians occasionally wear a kind of mail stockings of caraguatá (see p. 54), but when they are swimming, they often get badly mauled by these fierce fishes, and I saw several Choroti with enormous scars from the bites of palometas (fig. 53). It also happens, now and again, that Indians, whem swimming, get killed by caymans, which, here and there, are plentiful.

[286 824]

Fig. 118. Mesh-spacer of palo santo (Bulnesia sarmienti). Length 14.0 cm, width 3.0 cm; thickness along longitudinal axis 0.9 cm. The thickness decreases towards the longer edges, which are rounded. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Riksm. 03. 3. 242.

222 In the collection of the fruits, roots and pith of wild plants the Choroti possess an important source of subsistence. The Chaco Indians obtain edible fruits from, inter alia, the algaroba (Prosopis alba), the chañar (Gourliea decortitans), the mistol (Zizyphus mistol) and the tusca (Acacia aroma). The rootstocks of the caraguatá, or chahuar (Bromelia serra), plant are used for food by these Indians, and the same applies to the pith of the fan palm (Copernicia australis). For pulling down within reach the fruit-bearing branches of trees, the Indians make use of wooden hooks with a short arm and a long one, the latter then serving as a handle, whilst the tree branch which is to be bent down, is hooked with the shorter arm of the implement.[1] In digging up the spiny caraguatá plants the Choroti use a forked stick.[2]

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Fig. 119. Fishing hook of iron, with line of caraguatá fibre. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 238.

Fig. 120. Fish club of palo santo (Handle upwards). Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/6. Riksm. 03. 3. 87.

At the time of my stay among the Choroti, the part of the tribe with whom I was in touch carried on no other agriculture than the growing of pumpkins in a primi-

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), fig. 3.
[2] Nordenskiöld (13), fig. 49.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

I cannot tell, but from an analogous carving from the Lengua it is very probable that they represent spirits.[1]

Most rattles contain seeds, and in many of them are also found a large number of metal fragments (see synoptical table below). The latter as a rule consist of small, square pieces of tin plate, for the most part with a side of from 5 to 15 millimetres. Bits of glass do not unfrequently occur in the rattles, although never in any great numbers; generally only a few bits of glass are found in any one rattle. In the Chaco, bits of glass are naturally extremely rare. In the rattle reproduced in fig. 181 were only found bits of tin plate and one cactus spine. Although this rattle belongs to the handle hole type (see pp. 148, 149), it nevertheless has a hole in the bottom, with a plug of the kind I have described in connexion with the magic rattle, fig. 170. Professor Robert Fries has been kind enough to examine the different kinds of seeds that I have found in magic rattles, as well as in the bag mentioned below, and he then determined the presence of a species of Canna, a leguminous plant, a species of Convolvulaceæ, one of Sapotaceæ and a Smilax. Several kinds of seeds could not be identified from lack of material to compare them with.

Synoptic table of contents in magic rattles from the Choroti.

Riksm. coll. 03. 3.

No. of rattle	Type of rattle	Contents
386	Plugged hole through bottom. Carrying cord (fig. 170).	Seeds (Smilax and undetermined), 1 dark blue piece of glass.
385	Ditto.	Seeds (Smilax and Canna), 2 bits of zinc plate, 1 spiral spring of iron, 2 cactus spines.
390	Plugged hole through top of handle, ditto through bottom. No carrying cord. (fig. 181)	Nine bits of plate iron, one cactus spine.
384	Like foregoing, but no hole at the bottom.	Seeds (Canna and undetermined), 2 bits of plate iron.
387	Ditto.	Seeds (Smilax, a leguminous plant, and of unknown species), 34 black glass beads, 1 blue glass bead and 4 yellowish-green bits of glass.
388	Ditto.	Seeds (Convolvulaceæ and unknown), 1 piece of zinc plate, and 1 uncoloured piece of glass.

From a Choroti I obtained by barter a small bag of red cloth (Riksm. 03. 3. 391), abundantly wound round with caraguatá string, in which he said he used to keep the things that he put into magic rattles.

[1] Grubb (1), p. 75, and fig. 2 on plate following p. 70.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

make the throw with the right hand alone, leaving the left free to steer or direct the boat.»

In the mountainous districts and on the Peruvian coast it was in part no doubt the lack of wood suitable for making bows that made this a rare weapon, but also in part the advantage of having the left hand free while using the throwing stick.

The bow (Fig. 4) that is used by the Indians dealt with here, is very poor in comparison with the bows used by most of the Indians inhabiting N.E. Bolivia. The transverse section shows a very varying form. The two ends of the bow are sharpened to a point, and are not provided with notches to hold the string. Bows of this sort, without notches, seem to belong to a very old cultural phase in S. America, for we only find them in the extreme south, and among a small number of very primitive peoples in Bolivia and Brazil.

Pater Schmidt mentions the following tribes that have bows ending in a simple point without notches for the string: Botokudo, Bugre, Chamacoco, Saputki, Mataco, Toba, Angaité, Payaguá, Mbayá (Kadiuéo), Siriono, Pampas Indians, Miraña, Yanaperi and Uašmiri[1])

A few tribes have very indistinct notches at the end of the bow.

To the tribes enumerated by Pater Schmidt I can add, on the basis of archaeological material, the Indians in the Puna de Jujuy in Argentina[2]).

The bow-strings of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians are made partly out of caraguatá fibres, partly out of strips of skin. Bowstrings of animal material are only found among the Indians in southern S. America as far north as the Chaco. (Map 2). In tropical S. America such bow-strings are unpractical and rare. Bow-strings of tendons or strips of skin

[1]) Pater Schmidt, p. 1033.

[2]) Lehmann-Nitsche (1) Pl. 2, fig. 3; pl. 3, fig. 16.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 S17 Mataco S17
Toba S112
Choroti SK6

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in their magical dances and conjurations the Indians as a matter of fact most often deal with these particular evil spirits.

These are features common to the religious beliefs of all Indians of the Chaco: indeed they are found among all South American Indians. But even in the Chaco this general belief in spirits appears in somewhat different forms among different tribes. The *Choroti* fancy that the spirits, *mōhsek*, in their external appearance have the shape of old, withered men (*kihilahs*). They are, in the imagination of the Indians, provided with wings, which enable them to move rapidly through the air. Owing to their bird-like appearance the spirits are also called *ahuena* (»the birds»). They are countless in number, mostly invisible, and as a general rule evilly disposed towards mankind. I never met an Indian who professed to have *seen* a *mōhsek*, but nearly all say that they have *heard* their voices at night. One peculiarity of the demons of the Chaco Indians is that they only exist at night. As soon as darkness sets in the Choroti Indian fears mysterious dangers from the *mōhsek*, who are then believed to draw near the villages in great numbers and even to enter into the huts, visiting the inhabitants with sickness and death. This is the reason why a traveller living with the Choroti can hear from some house nearly every night the low chant of some old man accompanied by the dull sound of the rattle gourd, *pelite*, with which he tries to conjure and keep off the supernatural pests. At daybreak however the spirits are supposed to leave for the forests and the plains — with a piping or whistling sound, the Indians explained to me, which they are very clever in imitating. For this purpose the Choroti use a special kind of round whistle which they generally wear hanging round the neck as an ornament. At their religious dances they produce, from time to time, shrill whistling sounds with these whistles, professedly with a view to conjuring the *mōhsek*. The Indians believe that they can keep supernatural beings at bay by imitating them in their external appearance or their sounds.

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In the Chaco many weird sounds are heard at night which are apt to fill the natives with superstitious fear. The Choroti frequently told me about the »nightly whistling of the spirits» (*yap mōhsek ahnáh*). The peculiar piping or whistling which is most often identified with the sound of the spirits is, I believe, produced by certain insects living on the stems or branches of the trees. The spirit of the tusca tree was specially mentioned to me, but this spirit is said to be a »good» being.

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The idea of the Choroti, that the spirits have the shape of old men, has given rise to a peculiar and cruel custom. They do not allow their

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2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 S17 Mataco

Choroti SK6

there are several evidences of a nature animism, although as a general rule only such objects and phenomena as especially strike their imagination or with which some remarkable incidents are connected, are incidentally or permanently looked upon as being animated by spirits. There are evil demons in the sky, which among other things cause such strange phenomena as eclipses of the moon, of which the Choroti have the same idea as the Mataco and most other Chaco tribes. Other evil spirits of the sky cause drought, which in the Chaco forms the greatest obstacle to a successful cultivation of the fields. The demons keep the rain back, and the Indians in consequence try, during the dry season, to conjure them by drumming, shaking rattles and chanting so as to compel them to release rain. On the other hand, there are demons operating in the violent thunderstorms, although these are generally accompanied by torrents of rain. The Choroti believe that thunder and the flash of lightning are caused by a great number of *mōhsek* who are rushing through the air and making an onset upon the village. These spirits are more often called *ahuéna*, »the birds», and thunder and lightning are therefore generally called by the Indians simply *ahuéna*, although the proper name in the Choroti language is *súntini*. Every time a burst of thunder is heard, the Indians, sitting in their huts, begin to shout and scream loudly, in order to frighten away the molesting supernatural visitors. There are evil spirits in the violent whirlwinds and sand-storms so common in the Chaco, as well as in the cold south wind, *niúk*, which during the dry season sweeps over the plains and produces rheumatism and chills among the natives, badly equipped as they are against cold weather. The warm north wind again, *úkine*, is sent by »good» spirits. Thus the radical contrast between the cold south wind and the warm north wind, both of which are sent by supernatural agents, has been to the Choroti the main reason for making a distinction between two of the four cardinal points.

Spirits, *mōhsek*, are also believed to animate *trees* and *plants* -- bad spirits poisonous and harmful plants, good spirits the beneficial and useful ones. The ideas which the Indians entertain about plant spirits and the customs to which they give rise, are substantially the same among all the tribes, and I shall presently give an account of them.

The Choroti also believe in *animal* demons. Thus they share the belief, held by all Indians in tropical and subtropical America, that a jaguar which attacks Indians or appears under unusual circumstances, is a »man-tiger» *i.e.* a man, generally a sorcerer, who has assumed the shape of this beast. Even in his lifetime a sorcerer may incidentally change

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco
Toba SI12
Choroti SK6

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shape of a horse [1]) — an animal which is regarded with superstition by the Choroti — and will kill the »good spirit» of the inimical sorcerer. The latter, being thus deprived of his assistant genius, will fall an easy victim to his assailant.

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The guardian spirit is not hereditary but is acquired individually in the course of life and to a certain degree through teaching. The older a person grows, the more power and influence he is believed, by the Tobas, to gain over his *peyák nõtta*; hence the medicine-men are generally men of advanced age. The same may be said of the *Choroti*, who regard every old man as being more or less a sorcerer and endowed with supernatural powers. Since the women are always physically and spiritually weaker than men, they have always more difficulty in obtaining guardian spirits. I only know of a special initiation for women, who dedicate themselves to the exercise of the magic art, in the case of the Choroti. A women who wants to become a sorcerer, I was told, must eat a raw chirimoya fruit (*Anona chirimolia?*). When ripe, the chirimoya is edible and good: but in an unripe condition it is said to be poisonous, and a person eating of it according to the belief of the Indians will die or fall ill. If however the woman, while she is eating the raw fruit, performs the ceremony *Kausimã* with the magical rattle staffs, she will escape harm, and she will moreover in the future be able to conjure spirits with success. This idea is in fact typical of the initiation ceremonies of the Indians: the woman has been in contact with evil spirits but has been able to resist them, in consequence she has been rendered immune against them and acquired power over them which enables her to use them for her own ends in the future.

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Apart from the fact that the »good spirit» of the Choroti medicine-men is at least in some cases believed to appear in the form of a horse, the »good spirits» are in their external appearance like other spirits. The *Tobas* say that their *peyák nõtta* dwells in the heavens (*piyim*) from where he comes down to assist the medicine-man who invokes him. Similarly the Choroti say that their *mõhsĕk eis*, when summond by the sorcerer comes down from the sky, but the »sky» (*põle*) is not to the Choroti a definite place like the *piyim* of the Tobas. *Piyim* has developed into a mythological concept: it signifies Paradise or the realm of the dead of the Toba Indians. When a Toba Indian dies, I was told,

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[1]) Since the horse was introduced among the Chaco Indians by Europeans, this is not of course an original idea of the Choroti.